

to the philosopher-king that Plato dreamed about centuries ago. But he was also a child of his culture influenced by the pseudo-scientific and amoral philosophy that recognized slavery.

In his notes he portrayed the Negro as an inferior human being. Yet out of Jefferson came the majestic words that all men are created equal. However, in the culture of that time, these words meant all white men. But in his heart he knew that slavery was wrong, and that it degraded the white man's mind and soul as well as the Negro. In his NOTES ON VIRGINIA he wrote "Indeed, I trouble for my country when I reflect that God is just and that his justice cannot sleep forever. The Almighty has no attribute which can take sides with us in such a contest."

And in 1820 he wrote "But the momentous question, slavery, like a firebell in the night awakened me and filled me with terror. I considered it at once as the knell of the Union. I regret that I am now to die in the belief that the useless sacrifice of themselves by the generation of 1776 to acquire self-government and happiness to their country is to be thrown away by the unwise and unworthy passion of their sons, and that my only consolation is to be that I live not to weep over it." He did not live to weep over it for what he prophesied happened. The tragic rending of a nation occurred in a civil war over man's inhumanity to man and the disaster that always follows from it.

And in another period Abraham Lincoln was basically honest and willing to admit his confusions, but he saw that the nation could not exist half-slave and half-free. But yet on occasion he rationalized. Responding to the culture of his time, he wrote of the physical differences between the black and the white, and made it clear that he felt that there was a racial superiority by virtue of skin color.

Now, morally Lincoln was against slavery but he was unable to act in accordance with his conscience because of the culture in which he lived. And he said if we could first know whither we are tending, we could better judge what to do.

Fortunately for the nation he could see whither we were tending. When he issued the Emancipation Proclamation which took effect January 1, 1863, he said "In giving freedom to the free, we free ourselves". But this ambivalence has continued for more than 100 years and a continued indoctrination of Americans has separated the people according to the mythically su-

perior qualities of men by virtue of skin colors. That separation has continued, sanctioned by the State, while we evoked as the national ideal the democratic concept of equality.

So that although we passed the 13th Amendment of 1865 and the Civil Rights Act of 1866 and the 14th Amendment in 1868 and the 14th Amendment in 1870 and the Civil Rights Act of 1875, we continued to vacillate back and forth. The black codes took the place of slavery and the Ku Klux Klan began to rise and the Supreme Court in the civil rights cases in 1880 invalidated the Civil Rights Act. By 1900 the twenty-three Negro United States Congressmen and the two Negro United States Senators had disappeared from the halls of Congress and racial segregation took the place of slavery.

Now I come from a heritage of white and colored citizens who came together in 1909 to form the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People during a period of race riots in this country and following the Springfield Race riots in the Illinois town of Abraham Lincoln's birth. The formation of this organization reaffirmed that we can work through the framework of our constitution and democratic government to right ancient wrongs and to insure equal protection of the law to all citizens. So we worked through the courts beginning in 1915 with the invalidation of the grandfather clause in voting and in 1917 with the invalidation by the Supreme Court of racial segregation ordinances and housing. We also engaged in the long struggle to secure federal anti-lynching legislation and although it was not successful, the educational effect and the awaking of the moral conscience in America resulted in the decrease of lynching.

And in Maryland in 1935 when Judge Henderson was an assistant attorney general, the Court of Appeals of Maryland had the courage to set a precedent for equal educational opportunities by opening the University of Maryland Law School to all citizens, including qualifying Negro citizens.

This State in 1938 invalidated the state legislature's dual standards of teacher-pay. Negroes in this State, according to state law, could receive only half the salary received by white teachers. Through its courts and the leadership of men of good will, Maryland abolished this practice and set a precedent for the nation.

We believe that we can achieve the ideals of our founding fathers which have sounded